

American Regionalism. BY HOWARD W. ODUM AND HARRY ESTILL MOORE. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1938. Pp. x, 693. \$3.80.)

The Attack on Leviathan. BY DONALD DAVIDSON. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1938. Pp. x, 368. \$3.00.)

These books are valuable and complementary additions to the growing library of regionalism. Both come from the South, and from centers and individuals outstanding in contributions to the study and advocacy of

regionalism. Homage is paid in both to the teachings of F. J. Turner concerning the subject. They are complementary in that *American Regionalism* emphasizes methods, procedures, and definitions, and presents the first comprehensive introduction to the subject, while *The Attack on Leviathan* is the militant expounding of a political theory.

Behind the assumptions of Odum and Moore there are important theories also; but their immediate aim is to provide a "working compendium." Hence "the work-shop nature of the book." Naturally, in style it has not the terse and pungent qualities of Davidson, and some phrases and passages need to be sharpened and clarified, but the stuff is there. The authors have gathered together for the ease of students the most relevant material on every phase of the subject—drawn not only from the better-known writers such as Mumford, but from out-of-the-way sources—regional college football leagues, business house regions, and many other forms of regionalism.

The book is, indeed, so rich in materials and offers so many suggestions and provocations that review space must be occupied with indicating the general scheme, which in itself will make it clear that the volume is indispensable to students of American politics. Part I includes two introductory chapters in which the authors define their terms and urge their major interpretations and positions. These may profitably be compared with Chapters 3, 5, and 14 of Davidson's book in order to share in the debate over the relative meaning of "regionalism" as contrasted with "sectionalism." Perhaps it would not be unfair, if a little mordant, to say that regionalism is what Odum and Moore would like sectionalism to become, while Davidson's sectionalism is what regionalism tends to be. The point is that the first emphasize regionalism as the policy of adjusting the clustering of interests on an organic and comprehensive scale related to area to all-over national interests; the latter, in positing the basic value of a rooted tradition in society and finding it present only in regions, sees sectionalism as the political expression of the region, and the rôle of the national state as preserving the integrity of its constituent regions.

In the nine chapters that follow, regions are identified by different indices, such as soil, topography and climate, river valleys, metropolitan, literary and aesthetic, governmental, and non-governmental. The concluding two chapters describe the tools available for giving governmental expression to these various types.

Part II contains six chapters in which the use of the concept of regions by social scientists is described. Part III contains the authors' own division of the United States into "major composite societal regions . . . embodying the fewest contradictions, the greatest flexibility, and the largest degree of homogeneity for all purposes of study and planning" . . . or for "research and portraiture" (pp. 13, 433). Their regions are coterminous

with groups of states. The difficulties and inadequacies of any scheme are faced frankly and with intelligent comment. The regions selected are the Northeast, the Southeast, the Northwest and the Southwest, the Middle States, and the Far West. Within these, the authors indicate "flexible sub-regions" after the fashion discussed in the earlier book on Southern Regions. A chapter is given to each region, and a concluding chapter urges again the note of regions as constituent elements in national re-integration and a "redefining of Americanism" that would avoid over-centralization. There is a useful bibliography, to which might be added those excellent regional studies, *Sky Determines* by Ross Calvin and *The Evolution of Long Island* by Ralph Gabriel, and Kollmorgen's article attacking the validity of political regions in this REVIEW.

Students of regionalism have always watched for Donald Davidson's articles. They will welcome their republication in the present well-printed volume, whose title indicates its central theme. Regionalism is here associated with the author's advocacy of other social theories advanced by the group who call themselves "Agrarian." It is hardly the Agrarianism of the term as employed by the Turner school, or of the owner-occupier farmer of greater New England and the Middle West. Indeed, Mr. Davidson's fellow-advocates may well follow his advice—and Mr. Odum's—and study their own region more carefully before prescribing. It is significant that his own aggressiveness is moderated as he widens his inquiries and his acquaintance to include regions other than his own. ("The statement of issues which had a special meaning for the South also had some general meaning within the nation," p. 94.) One may refer the reader to the presidential address of Professor Prescott to the Southern Political Science Association in 1937 (*Proceedings, 1937*) for an evaluation of the ideas of the Agrarians and a tribute to the contribution they are making. None of that group has written more penetratingly on the cultural significance of regionalism than has Mr. Davidson.

Davidson's Calhoun-type of ideal for our constitutional system does not ignore the fact of national financial, industrial, and marketing controls. He would break these, not by national regulation, but by regional autonomy. It may be argued, however, that it is through the application of national governmental resources that regional disabilities—as, for example, in the Great Plains or the South—can be removed. But this will come only with greater self-knowledge by the region of its condition, and its conscious effort to secure allies in other regions to obtain relief. Chapter 12 on "Regionalism and Education" is an excellent statement of one method whereby this regional self-consciousness may be fostered. This chapter should be studied by teachers and curriculum-makers.

Some of the more difficult issues centering in definitions and appraisals of regionalism are debated, in these books, by Odum and Moore and

Davidson directly with one another in friendly fashion and with tributes to each other's contribution. A good many issues remain only partly clarified, although enough has been done to enable workers to make intensive studies of limited scope to test definitions and push forward the extent of agreed principles. The whole subject is still too much in a vague and fuzzy lack-of-shape. We need now a good many studies of specific "regions" like that by Dr. Calvin, or the earlier work on Southern Regions. If some views that are advanced by Odum and Moore as essential to regionalism are rejected or modified after testing by these studies, the two authors will undoubtedly be among the first to welcome the new contributions, which indeed will have been made possible partly through their pioneering.

JOHN M. GAUS.

University of Wisconsin.